DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 166 972 FL 010 884

AUTHOR Jacobson, Rodolfo
TITLE Interlanguage as a Means of Ethno-Cultural Identification.
PUB DATE 78
NOTE 20p.; Paper presented at the World Congress of Sociology (9th, Uppsala, Sweden, August 14-18, 1978)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$1.67 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Bilingualism; *Cultural Factors; Cultural Interrelationships; English (Second Language); Ethnicity; Grammar; *Interference (Language Learning); Language Development; Language Dominance; *Mexican Americans; Minority Groups; Nonstandard Dialects; Phonology; Psycholinguistics; *Sociocultural Patterns; *Socioeconomic Influences; Sociolinguistics; Spanish Speaking; Standard Spoken Usage; Suprasegmentals
IDENTIFIERS *Interlanguage

ABSTRACT

This article explores the hypothesis that members of a minority group whose language is other than English are fossilizing their second language patterns in an effort to retain stronger ties with their native culture. An investigation is conducted in which eight undergraduate students of the University of Texas at San Antonio have served as fieldworkers and elicited speech samples from Mexican-American and Anglo-American informants. The data shows that the (lower) middle class Mexican-Americans develop a high degree of sensitivity toward bidialectal strategies; they tend to stress their non-native English features when they are talking to their peers and approximate native English features when they are addressing members of the mainstream population. This situation is described as being the result of a triple continuum of culture, socio-economic status, and language in the sense that only the lower middle class Mexican-American activates the interethnic pendulum that allows him to relate to Hispanic as well as Anglo values. Bibliographical data of the fieldworkers are appended. (Author/NCR)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

© Rodolfo Jacobson

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

Interlanguage as a means of ethno-cultural identification

Rodolfo Jacobson
University of Texas at San Antonio
San Antonio, Texas, USA

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Rodolfo Jacobson
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC) AND USERS OF THE ERIC SYSTEM."

ED166972

0. The professional literature of recent years has conceptualized the fact that second language learners do not normally acquire native-like proficiency in the target language as interlanguage phenomena. There, the concept was associated, almost exclusively, with the learner of a foreign language who, when unable to reach a higher level of second language proficiency, resigns himself to his functioning on a lower plateau of language performance. This fossilization, then, is the result of either motivational or aptitudinal limitations. I wish to consider here the situation of the second language learner who is a member of the country's minority and whose acquisitional patterns appear to be fossilized, not because of any lack of aptitude and/or motivation but because of his loyalty to the vernacular culture and language. It is my hypothesis, then, that members of minority groups whose language is other than English are fossilizing their second language patterns in an effort to maintain strong ties with their native culture.

FL010084

To explore this hypothesis, I have conducted an investigation in which eight undergraduate students of the University of Texas at San Antonio have served as field workers and elicited speech samples from Mexican-American and Anglo-American informants and analyzed, under my direction, the recorded data in the expectation that the use of English by Mexican-Americans would reveal a series of characteristics that set apart the variety of English spoken by Mexican-Americans (Chicano English) from other varieties

of English spoken in the United States, varieties that I will all subsume under the generic label of Anglo English. It is the objective of this paper to describe this project and to summarize my tentative findings with the understanding that the collected data are still too sketchy to arrive at any permanent conclusion.

1. Some Theoretical Issues

In their attempts to expand on Nemser's view (1970:16) that the learner's approximate system is an intermediate stage between the source and the target language, researchers following a stronger psycholinguistic orientation have recently characterized these approximate systems as interlanguage. As a matter of fact, Larry Selinker (1972) emphasizes, in his definition of the term, the psycholinguistic processes[1] that contribute to the advent of an interlanguage. Obviously, the focus here is on the inquiry why an interlanguage would develop in the first place, even though the process of strategies of communication is already pointing in the direction of social interaction. Others have sought to interpret immigrant varieties of English as codes that have been "generated from the social circumstances under which English is acquired in particular settings." (Richards, 1972:163) However, despite this awareness of social factors during the learning process, the emphasis still is on the acquisition of English and the stagnation of further improvement because of the individual's limited social and economic possibilities as a member of the group (Richards, 1972:160). Richards (1972:167) obviously takes the issue further than Selinker when he argues that

> all language learning, whether the child learning his mother tongue or an adult acquiring a second language, proceeds in terms of approximate systems, but under certain conditions in second language learning this interlingual stage may become the end point in the learning process, taking on a new role in in-group communication and hence in ethnic identity and solidarity.

Richards no longer confines himself to the immigrant alone but also addresses himself to the speaker of indigenous-minority varieties of English. Furthermore, he is concerned, not only with the "end point in the learning process" but also with the incipient "new role in in-group communication." However, the major thrust in his fine paper is

> the development of an interlanguage generated from the limited opportunities for social and economic advancement often associated with membership of an indigenous minority group. (Richards, 1972:168)

The earlier research on interlanguage, therefore, seems to focus on the acquisition of a variety of English containing elements that are not present in the natively acquired variety. Thus, inter-language results from a low level of language aptitude or scarce motivation, the latter often being the result of cultural displacement or underprivileged status. Hence, a given linguistic feature of the interlanguage is felt to be imperfect learning with no hope for future correction. The neutralization, for example, of /iy/ and /i/ in the speech of most hispanos is treated as the speaker's failure to acquire -- and probably to ever acquire -- the phonological contrast made by the native English speaker. It is seldom taken as an instance of dialectal idiosyncracy.[2]

A different way to approach the non-acquisition of native-like linguistic features by the minority group member is to treat it as an intended fossilization, not because of a learner's inability to reach the native speaker's performance plateau -- whether a result of aptitudinal or of motivational causes -- but because of his almost deliberate retention of some non-native features to avoid total assimilation. The focus here is not acquisitional but interactional. In other words, interlanguage has now become a sociolinguistic concept. From our earlier psycholinguistic inquiry about the

how and the why, we have come to consider the social significance of a fully established interlanguage. In this sense it becomes a countermeasure against anomie and by institutionalizing what may otherwise be considered a deviation from the norm, the member of the minority group has found a way to stress his ethno-cultural identity.

The reinterpretation of interlanguage in these terms has led me to formulate the hypothesis that Mexican-Americans speak a variety of English that differs consistently from the variety of English spoken by others and that they are speaking this ethnic dialect to strengthen their own self-awareness. Wallace Lambert (Dil, 1972) discusses in one of his studies the feeling of anomie that overtook a group of English Canadians who were participating in a French language immersion program. Their sudden realization that they had learned French so well that they would even dream in French made them question their personal identity. To regain their self-identity as English Canadians, they began to violate the only-French rule that they had followed in the past. As for the Mexican-American, the return to Spanish would not be the answer, as the overall setting in which he functions is English language-based. It is the use of a slightly deviant form of English that allows him to cope more effectively with both of his cultures. He can communicate with the Anglo-American and, at the same time, he conveys to his peer -- by means of the use of Chicano English -- the message that he has not given up his membership within the Mexican-American community.

To test this hypothesis, I have conducted an investigation at the University of Texas at San Antonio with the assistance of two Anglo-American and six Mexican-American undergraduate students[3]. In the following sections of the paper, I will describe the research design of the project and supply an inventory of interlanguage features as these emerged during the analysis of

the recordings. In the appendix, I have identified the student fieldworkers who helped me collect the data. My tentative findings are giving support to the notion of a Mexican-American interlanguage, although its presence does not seem to be accounted for as fully as the hypothesis seemed to suggest.

2. The Research Design

In order to test our hypothesis, we envisioned two separate phases in our investigation, one, in which we would record, almost randomly, and then transcribe the speech of Mexican-Americans as they interacted either with members of their own group (Mexican-Americans with Mexican-Americans) or with members of the mainstream group (Mexican-Americans with Anglo-Americans) and another, in which we would record interviews structured on the basis of the preliminary findings of the first phase. As the first recordings came in and the student fieldworkers transcribed them, we became aware of the fact that this project was, by no means, an easy one and that the data would support, only in a very limited sense, the hypothesis that Mexican-Americans vary in their verbal performance depending on whether they are addressing Anglos or Chicanos. The major reason for the scarcity of supportive data was the fact that we had not controlled the socioeconomic variable, assuming that Mexican-Americans, regardless of their social status, would exhibit the characteristics that we were investigating. On the other hand, even in this first exploratory phase, two major traits emerged as interlingual, i.e., certain suprasegmental features and the selection of the restricted code. By the time, we were ready for phase two, we felt that, as a communicative strategy, three criteria should be met:

(1) The emphasis in our data collection should be directed toward the Mexican-American who, in his/her desire for social and economic betterment, had not relinquished his/her association with the lower socio-economic class (upper-low or lower-middle);
(2) The major thrust in our analysis should be placed on the presence of (a) patterns of intonation and/or rhythm and (b) the restricted code;
(3) Given the likeliness that interlanguage features would emerge more concisely, if the speech of the members of the lower middle class was studied, we would, in addition, examine segmental phonology, grammar and lexicon.

On this basis, we began to structure our interviews as follows:

a. only conversations between two informants were to be elicited by each fieldworker;

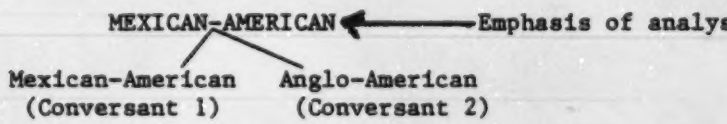
b. the same Mexican-American would be recorded in his verbal interaction with (A) a second Mexican-American and (B) with an Anglo-American;

c. both Mexican-Americans would be members of the lower or low middle class, except where the differential behavior due to class differences was being investigated; no such restriction was imposed on the Anglo-American partner;

d. the topic of the conversation should deal with issues concerning local matters, so that the talks would reflect a kind of speech behavior that could serve the purpose of his investigation. In no casw was the fieldworker to mention the ultimate objective of the present study;

e. the structure of the interview was to be such as to aim at potential responses that would lend themselves to arriving at findings also in the areas of segmental phonology, grammar and lexicon;

f. the analysis would focus on the language performance of the Mexican-American who was interacting with both, the second Mexican-American and the Anglo-American as show in the diagram below:



In other words, the analysis would be contrastive in terms of the two guises of the first Mexican-American;

g. a demographic information sheet would be provided for each informant for future reference.

With the above structure in mind, our fieldworkers recorded approximately eight hours of speech and transcribed selected passages of the recordings. The rule of thumb was to transcribe utterances in isolation if these were found to contain potential interlanguage features. On the other hand, when a longer passage seemed to contain no identifiable features, then whole passages of connected speech were transcribed in order to make the interlanguage features more visible. The interlanguage features so identified would then be classified and interpreted in the expectation that this inventory might serve future researchers of Chicano English to identify interlanguage features.

3. Identification of interlanguage features

The analysis of the recordings are revealing the presence of a number of features that variably occur in the speech of many Mexican-Americans but with greater frequency when interacting with members of their own ethnic group. The six phonological deviations from mainstream English listed in the inventory (see below) indicate that Chicano English differs from the standard variety of English in the treatment of consonants as well as of vowels. Some voiced consonants are devoiced, some consonants are deleted and certain consonant clusters are reduced, one fricative is frequently affricated, the voiceless interdental may undergo modifications according to whether it occurs initially or finally, the velar nasal is often fronted and the high vowels are neutralized.

Most revealing, however, is the treatment of suprasegmental features. The overall pitch range is reduced and sentence boundaries become more difficult to determine. The lowest pitch level approximates the second lowest used by Anglo speakers and this higher pitch gives the listener

the sensation of less matter-of-factness and greater emotional involvement in what is being said. It is however, not only the range and level that strike us as particular but so does the peak-and-valley effect of the rhythmic pattern illustrated in several of the recordings. Finally, some variation in the stress pattern of compound nouns was observed although this variation was not felt to be a generalized pattern. A word like teénager can be heard as teenáger, thus destroying the closeness between elements in a compound construction.

I. Phonology

(1) Segmental

a. Devoicing of some voiced consonants: z>s; d>ḍ; gz>ks

b. Consonant deletion/Cluster reduction: Vt#>V#; nt> n#; ld#>l#
n0s#>ns#

c. Affrication: š>č

d. 0-modification: #0 >#t(manner); 0#>s#(place)

e. Loss of velarity in nasals: ŋ>n (__s)

f. Vowel neutralization: iy uw
I >i ; ʊ>u

(2) Suprasegmental

a. Reduced overall pitch range: 4 3 2 1 > 3 2 1

b. Higher pitch level in sentence finals (Statements)

c. Stress variation in compound nouns:

d. Rhythm

Table 1: Phonological Interlanguage Features

Grammatical variation is, except for the past/past participle morpheme reduction in verbs, a matter of deletion or transposition. The expletive it may be understood and the determiner unexpressed. However, more often than not, the word arrangements in the sentence reflect a phrasal or clausal Spanish substratum. Topicalization, on the other hand, is too frequent a phenomenon in the speech of nonstandard speakers in general to be considered a strictly hispanic interlanguage characteristics.

Grammar	
(1)	Reduction to ∅ of Past allomorphs: {ɨd, t, d} > ∅
(2)	It-delation: #__is...
(3)	Topicalization: #(...)NP, Pron ...
(4)	Syntactic transfer: verb phrase, voice
(5)	Transpositions: #Phrase$_{adv.}$ SVO; OSV<SVO
(6)	∅ determiner

Table 2: Grammatical Interlanguage Features

Lexical interlanguage features are mainly calques and therefore best explained by referring to the source language. On the other hand, it appears that interlingual speakers lack the vocabulary richness of individuals reared in the mainstream tradition, so that the listener experiences the sensation that the speaker just cannot put his finger on the right word as shown in the use of the whóle school semester when the intended word was the school year. Two aspects of the lexicon have not yet been explored. One, lexical preference, refers to the choice of that lexical item which is linguistically closer to the vernacular word, whenever doublets are available. The preference of sofa over couch, exam over quiz, distant over far has been pointed out in prior investigations. Two, borrowing, is an even more obvious ingredient of the language patterns of many Mexican-Americans but might be better explored in the context of codeswitching or even of historical dialectology rather than in a study of interlanguage features. Style encompasses a vast field within interlanguage studies and six ingredients have so far been identified tentatively as important elements in intraethnic communication. Intimacy suggests a greater degree of interpersonal relationship as when members of the same ethnic group refer to their relatives, although unknown by their partners, by using first names and not the more impersonal kinship

terms. Fluent speech, obviously, involves greater attention to speech and therefore hesitation, choppy talk and halting enunciations are more frequent when this attention to speech --- because of a feeling of mutual closeness --- is no longer called for. By the same token, speakers tend to shorten their sentences and to cut, in their responses, into the speech of their partners. The restricted code -- in Bernstein's terminology -- is clearly an interlingual trait, not because the behavioral pattern of a minority group operates by it but because the mutually shared experiences do not warrant greater explicitness in communication. The last ingredient, assimilation to regional Anglo patterns, is supported by only some limited evidence and is, at best, an interlanguage pattern in reverse. Mexican-Americans who speak English with South Midland features -- often referred to as Texas or Southern Drawl -- are rare but can be found among those who are members of certain rural communities where segregation from hispanic traditions is the rule. The presence of these regional features, then, may come to connote acculturation and assimilation to Anglo values in its fullest degree. Whether such is actually the case must await the collection of more data, especially from areas where these characteristics can be found more readily, i.e., the Texas Panhandle, Southeast Texas, etc.

Lexicon (1) Calques: big, get off, less, all the time, the English, come out, be out, pass to, a 6 weeks, ugly, classroom, little note, imagine, I say, I go for her (2) Lexical limitation: school semester, speech teacher (3) Lexical preference (cognates) (4) Borrowing
Style (1) Intimacy (2) Fluidity (3) Sentence length (4) Cut-ins (5) Code (6) Assimilation to Anglo Patterns

Table 3: Lexical and Stylistic Interlanguage Features

To conclude, the reader is directed to the full inventory of interlanguage features (Tables 1,2 and 3) and the corresponding data sheet (Table 4) both of which represent a first attempt at a checklist of such features that must however undergo further scrutiny and rigid validation before they can be fully accepted.

PHONOLOGY

1a. 'caused' as [kɔst] ; 'resent' as [rísént]; 'position' as [pəsíšən]; etc.
'made' as [meyd]; 'exam' as [eksǽm];

1b. 'right' as [rayt]; 'environment' as [envayrənmənt] ; 'told' as [towl]
'months' as [mɔns]; 'taste' as [tiys];

1c. 'national' as [nǽšənəl]; 'she' as [šiy];

1d. 'through' as [truw]; 'month' as [mɔns];

1e. 'things' as [θins]

1f. 'still' as [stiyl]; 'did' as [diyd]; 'billing' as [biylɨŋ];
'least' as [list]; speech as [spiš]; 'full' as [fuwl];

2a. Overall pitch range tends to follow Spanish pitch patterns with its preference for higher pitch levels where English tends to have lower ones and viceversa; (compare recordings).

2b. Pitch level at sentence finals in matter-of-fact statements tends to be higher; (compare recordings).

2c. Occasional stress variations in compound nouns: teénagers as teenágers; Wéstside as Westsíde

2d. Rhythmic peak-valley alternations, especially in emotion-loaded talk; (compare recordings).

GRAMMAR

1. 'worked,' 'baked,' 'passed' as [wərk], [beyk] , [pas]; 'hired,' 'learned,' 'changed,' 'told,' 'browned' as [hayr], [lern], [čeynj], [towl], [brawn];

2. 'It is very difficult' as Is very difficult.

3. 'But Marisol was different' as And Marisol,...., she was different; 'You can't define a woman's role in marriage' as a woman's role in marriage, you can't define it.

4. 'What do you think about' ... as What you think about; 'Where did you graduate' as Where were you graduated; 'It hurts her' as She hurts (cf. le duele).

5. 'She had no problems in first grade' as In first grade, she had no problems;' ... and you did a little of the activities' as ... a little of the activities you did ...

6. 'As long as you are a parent' as As long as you are parent.

Table 4: Interlanguage Data Sheet I

LEXICON

1. Voy por ella as I go for her; Me imagino as I imagined; Estabas casado, no as Were you married, no; ... una notita as a little note; sus dientes se le estaban saliendo as his teeth were coming out; pasó a cuarto grado as he passed to fourth grade; aquellas notas feas as those ugly grades; todo el tiempo as all the time; cuando es grande as when you are big [=grown up]; ... todo menos el sexto grado as anything less sixth grade, estos libritos as these little booklets.
2. ... 'teaching a bilingual class' as teaching a bilingual classroom; ... 'speech therapist' as speech teacher.
3. Analysis not completed.
4. Analysis not completed.

STYLE

1. 'Just like the son of one of my brothers in church' as Just like the son of Brother Melchor; 'I couldn't send my daughter' as I couldn't send Cindy;
2. Enunciation in connected speech tends to become more halting, to contain more hesitation gaps and to appear more choppy; (compare recordings).
3. Sentences tend to be shorter; (compare recordings).
4. Speakers tend to cut in more into conversant's response
5. Lexical items like this, things, something, you know, etc. as well as certain omissions to indicate presence of restricted code, e.g., "Like this guy was talking a while ago," "And all that kind of things," "The only thing I can face ... ;" "Talking about things ..." "But the thing is ... ;" "When he pronounced the [s], you know," "... or little things that had come out in her speech," "We would go out of town or something," "Someone must have told them or something."
6. Presence of regional Anglo-American dialect features is rare in San Antonio's Mexican-American speech. Isolated occurrences by highly acculturated Mexican-Americans seem to suggest Anglo regionalisms could be felt to be an evidence of successful acculturation and assimilation efforts, e.g., 'I [ay] believe' as [a biliyv].

Table 4 (continued): Interlanguage Data Sheet II

4. The triple continuum of culture, socio-economic status and language

The recordings done by our student-fieldworkers are showing a great deal of irregularity in terms of the number of interlanguage features that have surfaced. The abundance of such features in the conversations of some informants (cf. Arizola, Esqueda) and the almost total absence of the features in that of others (cf. Martinez, Espinoza, Alvarado) made us investigate more closely the reasons for such a discrepancy. Class membership as well as culture loyalty seemed to be at the heart of the

matter. Those informants who had advanced to the upper middle class and changed their cultural allegiance in favor of Anglo-American values showed barely any of the characteristics that we had found among the lower middle class members. In other words, the successful social climber had already lost the versatility of moving from one to the other cultural identification. We might infer from here that the member of the lowest socio-economic class would show the opposite characteristics: he would not yet have acquired this kind of versatility and function only in the vernacular way by either speaking no English at all or speaking it with an excess of interlanguage features. It is the lower middle class Mexican-American who finds himself in the middle and can relate to both, the lower or lower middle class Mexican-American and the upper middle class Mexican American or middle class Anglo-American. It is therefore a convenient conceptualization to classify the member of the Mexican-American Community as an individual on a continuum who, according to his background or motivation, strives for an approximation toward either extreme or a placement in the middle to cope with both cultures as he/she sees fit. I therefore wish to propose that we are here dealing with a triple continuum of culture, socio-economic class and language where the person's placement on this continuum determines the extent to which this person can or cannot modify his speech patterns:

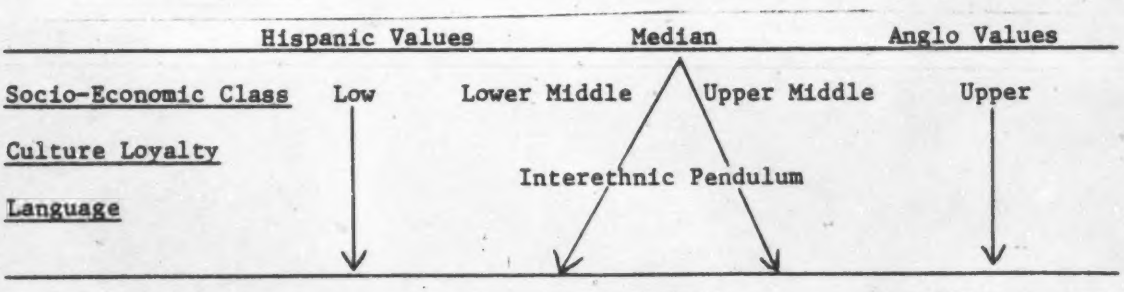


Figure 1: The Interethnic Pendulum

The ability of the (lower) middle class Mexican-American to bend his behavioral patterns to suit the Anglo and also the Chicano values (interethnic pendulum) and thus avoid anomie is his/her affirmation of cultural pluralism. If the fossilized deviations from mainstream English can be shown to be -- more than what I have succeeded in doing in this exploratory study -- a dialect in its own right, then the knowledge of Chicano English and Anglo English would truly be a manifestation of support of bidialectalism. The maintenance of bidialectalism, however, seems to be contingent on socio-economic status and loyalty to the things hispanic. A prediction of its future potentials is hardly possible since socio-economic betterment leads to the membership in a higher socio-economic bracket, whereas culture loyalty, now so strongly supported through the recent emphasis on civil rights and ethnicity, favors what I am calling the interethnic pendulum. For the time being, however, bidialectalism seems to be with us and bidialectal shifting is strongly supported by many members of the Mexican-American community who seem to have solved the conflict

The ability of the (lower) middle class Mexican-American to bend his behavioral patterns to suit the Anglo and also the Chicano values (interethnic pendulum) and thus avoid anomie is his/her affirmation of cultural pluralism. If the fossilized deviations from mainstream English can be shown to be -- more than what I have succeeded in doing in this exploratory study -- a dialect in its own right, then the knowledge of Chicano English and Anglo English would truly be a manifestation of support of bidialectalism. The maintenance of bidialectalism, however, seems to be contingent on socio-economic status and loyalty to the things hispanic. A prediction of its future potentials is hardly possible since socio-economic betterment leads to the membership in a higher socio-economic bracket, whereas culture loyalty, now so strongly supported through the recent emphasis on civil rights and ethnicity, favors what I am calling the interethnic pendulum. For the time being, however, bidialectalism seems to be with us and bidialectal shifting is strongly supported by many members of the Mexican-American community who seem to have solved the conflict situation by means of an adherence to the principle of multi-ethnic co-existence

5. The earlier hypothesis that Mexican-Americans speak a variety of English that could be labeled Chicano English because of the stable presence of features that are absent from the speech of Anglo-Americans has not been confirmed. However, a far more significant situation has emerged in the sense that the (lower) middle class urban Chicano has developed a high degree of sensitivity toward bidialectal strategies with the intent to exemplify, on one hand, his loyalty toward his own ethnic group and, on the other, his broader identification -- symbolic integration in Joshua Fishman's terms -- with the mainstream American. In other words, the mentioned individual speaks Chicano English with his fellow Mexican-Americans of the emerging middle class and a regional standard with a minimal amount of Spanish language interferences when he addresses individuals outside his own ethnic group. Some characteristics of the cited Chicano English dialect have been listed but are hardly more than a

tentative checklist of what the researcher may be looking for when he seeks to identify the speech of the ethnic Mexican-American. Research in this area is needed in order to describe Chicano English more consistently in the hope that such descriptions will lead to a deeper understanding of the extent to which the Chicano copes with his bicultural existence.

APPENDIX

Eight students served as fieldworkers in the Interlanguage Project that has been described above. Of these five were Mexican-Americans, one was a Panamanian and two were Anglo-Americans. I am indebted to all of them for the assistance that they have given me in carrying out the project. The following biographical blurbs serve the purpose of describing their personal and academic background:

(1) Evangeline Acosta was born and reared in San Antonio, Texas, where she attended Our Lady of Guadalupe School, a neighborhood school located in the west part of town were the population is 99% Mexican-American and where Spanish, her primary language, is the dominant language. All instruction, however, was in English but she did not forget her Spanish. The shift from Spanish to English was inevitable when Ms. Acosta entered high school because most of her education was in English, although some of the instruction was in Spanish. Upon graduation from high school, she attended San Antonio College and later the University of Texas at San Antonio where she obtained a Bachelor of Arts degree in Elementary Education with an endorsement in Bilingual Education. She is presently unemployed but plans to enroll in the Graduate School of Library Science of the University of Texas at Austin. Her goal is to work with children at the elementary or secondary level.

(2) Marisín I. Alvarado was born in Panama City, Republic of Panama. She attended Colegio Internacional de Maria Inmaculada from grades 1 to 10. During this time her experience with foreign languages was 2 years of French, one year of Latin and 10 years of English. Despite her long exposure to English, she could not speak it fluently, although her knowledge of English grammar was good. When Marisín came to the United States in 1973, she enrolled in Oliver Wendell Holmes School in San Antonio and graduated there from high school in 1976. At present, she is enrolled in the University of Texas at San Antonio where she is a senior majoring in Spanish. She expects to graduate in 1979. Ms. Alvarado expects to go to graduate school and specialize in Spanish literature with a second field in French and Italian. Her goal is to teach at the college level or to find an employment where she can use her knowledge in foreign languages and deal with people.

(3) Martha Arizola was born in San Antonio, Texas, in 1938. Her first language was Spanish and she knew no English before she entered first grade. She received her Bachelor of Arts degree in Elementary Education from St. Mary's University in San Antonio and has been teaching in a bilingual program for the past four years. At present, she is seeking the Master of Arts degree in bicultural-bilingual studies at the University of Texas at San Antonio. Prior to her teaching experience, she worked as a teacher assistant for three years in the same school district where she is currently employed. In addition she has participated in textbook committees and has assisted in writing a Spanish Mastery Text for the bilingual program in her school district.

(4) Maria Espinoza was born in Laredo in 1948 and came to San Antonio at the age of four. Her first language was Spanish. She spoke no English prior to entering the first grade. She considers herself a balanced bilingual. She is presently working toward her Bachelor of Arts degree in Elementary Education with specialization in bicultural and bilingual studies at the University of Texas at San Antonio. She has been employed on a full time basis for over fifteen years and during this time, she has worked in her capacity of a bilingual.

(5) Orfa Esqueda was born in Monterey, Mexico, in 1937. In 1949, her father, who is a Baptist minister, was transferred to the United States, first to Arizona and then to Texas. She graduated from high school in Galveston in 1957 and attended the University of Houston for a time. Later, she moved to San Antonio where she attended the San Antonio College from 1958-60. She has been married to a Mexican-American from San Antonio for 17 years. In 1975, she graduated from SAC (Associate Arts degree) and transferred to the University of Texas at San Antonio where she is now seeking a Bachelor of Arts degree in Early Childhood and Elementary Education with a bilingual and kindergarten endorsement. She has been working in her church with Mexican-American children and participated in workshops and seminars dealing with preschool children. Ms. Esqueda spoke Spanish at home and it was considered impolite to speak English there. Spanish was also used in all of her church activities. However, by now, she is a balanced bilingual.

(6) Susan Fore, 22, is a graduating senior. Her major is Spanish but she is not seeking a teaching certificate. All her support work has been done in French. She first attended the University of Texas at Austin and then transferred to the University of Texas at San Antonio. She was born in Tulia, Texas, but has lived in San Antonio for 20 years. Her first language was English but she has become very proficient in Spanish. No one else in her family speaks Spanish but she is in constant contact with it in school. She has been studying Spanish since age 13 and attended summer schools in Mexico and Spain. She has already taken four linguistics courses and is enjoying her work in Spanish. Ms. Fore is currently looking for work in San Antonio and hopes to remain in an area where her bilingual skills will be useful, although she is not interested in teaching. She would like to work in one of the missions or in community centers associated with her church.

(7) Laura M. Martinez, 19, is an education major with concentration in bicultural-bilingual studies. Her native language is English. She has some background in linguistics, especially in Spanish linguistics. Her future plans are to study at the University of Salamanca, Spain, in summer 1979 and then to seek the Master of Arts degree at the University of Texas at Austin.

(8) Mary Frances Roznowski was born in Albany New York in 1956. Her first language was English but she has become fluent in Spanish over the last five years. She obtained her Bachelor of Arts degree and teacher certification in Early Childhood and Elementary Education from Goddard College. Recently, she wrote a bilingual children's book about having a parent in prison based on the account of incarcerated parents and their children. She is a transient graduate student in the bicultural-bilingual program at the University of Texas at San Antonio and will soon begin working towards her Master of Arts degree in bilingual special education. Ms. Roznowski has team taught in a bilingual special education kindergarten and will now teach in a Title VII bilingual kindergarten in Chelsea, Mass.

Notes

[1]Selinker specifies these processes as being language transfer, transfer of training, strategies of second language learning, strategies of communication and overgeneralization of target language.

[2]Interestingly enough, the neutralization before the nasal /n/ in pen/pin made by South Midland speakers (Northwest Texas, Oklahoma, etc.) is not so treated.

[3]Actually-five Mexican-Americans and one Panamanian (see appendix).

Bibliography

Dil, Anwar, ed. 1972 Language, Psychology, and Culture, Stanford Calif., Stanford University Press, 294-95

Richards, Jack "Social Factors, Interlanguage and Language Learning", Language Learning 22:2 159-188 (December 1972)

Selinker, Larry Interlanguage 1972 International Review of Applied Linguistics 10:3. 219-231